622 matrimonial, he had the power to throw obstacles in the way of such marriages taking place. The monegar, in (584) virtue of his position, wielded much power, and ruled (661) the village as he pleased." In the old days, it is said, when he visited any village within his jurisdiction, the monegar had the privilege of having the best women or maids of the place to share his cot according to his choice. In former times, the monegar used to wear a silver ring as the badge of office, and some Badagas still have in their possession such rings, which are preserved as heirlooms, and worshipped during festivals. The term monegar is, at the present day, used for the village revenue official and munsiff.

612 I gather that each exogamous sept has its headman, called Gouda, who is assisted by a Parpattikāran, and decides tribal matters, such as disputes, divorce, etc. 627 Fines, when inflicted, go towards feasting the tribe, and doing pūja (worship) to the gods. In the case of a dispute between two parties, one challenges the other to take an oath in a temple before the village council. A declaration on oath settles the matter at issue, and the • 624 parties agree to abide by it. It is the duty of the Parpattikāran to make arrangements for such events as the Heththeswāmi, Devvē and Bairaganni festivals, and 795 the buffalo sacrificing festival at Konakkore. The Par- 783 pattikāran takes part in the purification of excommunicated members of the tribe, when they are received back into it, for example, on release from prison. The tongue of the delinquent is burnt with a hot sandal stick, and a new waist thread put on. He is taken to the temple, where he stands amidst the assembled Badagas, (624) who touch his head with a cane. He then prostrates himself at the feet of the Parpattikāran, who smears his 624 forehead with sacred ashes. It is, further, the duty of

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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624 the Parpattikāran to be present on the occasion of the Kannikattu (pregnancy) ceremony.

291 A quarter of a century ago, a Badaga could be at once picked out from the other tribes of the Nīlgiris by 000 his wearing a turban. But, in the present advanced age, not only does the Toda sometimes appear in the national head-dress, but even Irulas and Kurumbas, who only a short time ago were buried in the jungles, living like pigs and bears on roots, honey and other forest produce, turn up on Sundays in the Kotagiri bazar, clad in 291 turban and coat of English cut. And, as the less civilised tribes don the turban, so the college student abandons this picturesque form of head-gear in favour of the less becoming and less washable porkpie cap, while the Badaga men and youths glory in a knitted night-cap of flaring red or orange hue. The body of the Badaga man is covered by a long body-cloth, sometimes with red and blue stripes, wrapped "so loosely that, as a man works in the fields, he is obliged to stop between every few strokes of his hoe, to gather up his cloth, and throw 301 one end over his shoulder." Male adornment is limited to gold ear-rings of a special pattern made by Kotas or goldsmiths, a silver waist-thread, silver bangle on the 291 wrist, and silver, copper, or brass rings. The women wear a white body-cloth, a white under-cloth tied round the chest, tightly wrapped square across the breasts, and reaching to the knees, and a white cloth worn like a cap 304 on the head. As types of female jewelry and tattooing, the following examples may be cited:—

1. Tattooed on forehead with dashes, circles and crescent; spot on chin; double row of dots on each upper arm over deltoid; and devices and double row of 301 dots on right forearm. Gold ornament in left nostril. Necklets of glass beads and silver links with four-anna

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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681 The preceding was never a fixed scale of punishments but rather a guide to how an offender would be treated in those times, 'all else being equal'. In each case the punishment could be mitigated according to the circumstances of the crime and the identity of the criminal. A poor man would be fined less than one of the gentry; and any man might plead poverty or haggle with the council to have his fine reduced. This is equally true today.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

178 657 Since the start of the last century Badagas were ruled indirectly by the British but contact with them had very little effect in the early years. The Badagas avoided the British legal system and its officers, and their own customary system continued to operate effectively until the end of the century when they subtly adapted their legal thinking to avail themselves of the Imperial system as well.

622 632 657 631 Village government under the British régime perpetuated the existing hereditary headmen, some of whom received the title of *manegar*. The hierarchy of headmen did not enter into the British scheme for local government however; *manegars* were typically *u:r gaudas*, headmen at the commune level. In the earliest days the British deemed it enough for a *manegar* to be a member of the gentry respected by the Badagas; but by the end of the nineteenth century the role of headman had been split: a *manegar* was appointed in the main communes by the District Collector,[11] while the Badagas still selected their own headmen at both the village and the commune levels.[12] The appointed *manegar* was preferably a literate man, and no longer merely someone with prestige (624) (Grigg, 1880, 366). In addition the British appointed an accountant, the *karnam*, to keep village records. Both of these roles,[13] held by Badagas responsible to an outside authority, were new to Nilgiri society and were not honoured in the spirit expected by the British administration. Grigg, the Collector in 1880, noted with perhaps some exaggeration that 622

> The vaguest notion of their duties as village magistrate or police officer prevails among the headmen. So far from their understanding that it is their duty to repress such crime, they seem to regard it almost as a sacred duty not only to countenance and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

631 2. A *commune* can be defined as the smallest administrative unit above the village, consisting of a number of contiguous villages under one headman and council; compare the definition in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933, vol. II, 698. The commune used to be found in Serbia, and as the *tambon* it is a basic administrative unit in Thailand; there the headmen of the villages constituting a *tambon* elect one of their number to be commune chief.

3. *u:r gauda*, or *natame*. An exceptional area near De:na:ḍu, on the eastern rim of the plateau, was so isolated and broken in terrain that it was only around 1960 that the nine Toṛea villages there formed a commune and elected a man from Tumbimale as their *u:r gauda;* before that they had recognized as a higher authority the headman of De:na:ḍu, a Wodea who was also the *parpati* (see below, note 5) for Puranga:ḍu.

4. *hatti gauda;* small villages may do without a headman for years.

643 5. *parpati*, or *si:me gauda;* Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 80–81.

6. *na:ku hetta gauda*, often referred to as Tu:ne:ri *Manegar*. (See Plate 4.)

7. Much the same system of headmen has been noted in the South Canara, Coimbatore and Coorg Districts; see, respectively, Thurston, 1909, vol. II, 269–272; Nambiar & Bharathi, 1965, 10, 63; Srinivas, 1965, 57–59.

566 8. Until some thirty years ago wealthy Badaga households had Badaga serfs, mainly from the poverty-stricken area of Kundena:ḍu, who were children bound to serve for a period of from five years (in the case of pre-puberty girls) to a maximum of twenty-one years (in the case of some youths). In return they received food and housing, and their parents were paid a sum of money. Those in servitude were generally well treated, being like children of the households where they worked. Harkness, 1832, 115, notes they were paid two or three rupees *per annum*.

695 9. Such divine utterances have not been given credence in this century but oaths have. The scale of oaths, in order of increasing severity, is this: (1) to assert 'it is true!' (2) to pull up some grass with the finger-nails and throw it onto the meeting-ground; (3) to touch the ground with one hand; (4) to put a cloth one is wearing on the ground and step over it; (5) to lay one's child on the ground and step over him—if a false oath, the child will magically die; (6) if non-vegetarian, to sacrifice a goat at the temple; (7) to visit the temple at a set time and swear one's innocence before the god. Divine punishment will fall on whoever breaks such oaths.

10. If after disposal of a case further evidence came to hand the headman could reopen the discussion and perhaps reach a different decision; this might protect him from being fined for a faulty judgment by a higher headman.

631 11. Grigg, 1880, 366; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 831; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 79–80. The 177 Collector was always British.

622 12. These received the title of *sub-manegar* and a small salary from the British administration.

622 13. Officially these two roles entailed the following: "The head of the village [*manegar*] is the representative of Government in the village. He is the village magistrate and head of the village police. He is the collector of the revenue of the village over which he presides, and has also to perform [miscellaneous small] duties . . . The karnam, who is entrusted with the keeping of village accounts, is subordinate to the head of the village. He should help and advise the head . . . in every way. He is the clerk of the head of the village in his

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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capacity as village munsif [*manegar*] and Magistrate. He has to prepare reports, accounts, statements, etc., which it is necessary to put in writing . . .'; Madras, 1958, I.

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14. Thurston 1909, vol. I, 80. This unusual treatment was not obligatory and was rarely possible because a *manegar's* rounds were short and could not have kept him away from home at night. A *manegar* with a penchant for girls would quickly have lost his reputation.

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15. The India-wide term for a village council. The distinction between civil and criminal law is made explicit in the *Indian Penal Code*, which in this matter closely follows English common law.

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16. The *panchayat* members are supposedly elected every four years; their position is prestigeful but unpaid. The chosen representatives tend to be relatively well-educated but rarely village headmen. The powers of this court, which is at the lowest level in the hierarchy of lawcourts, are: '. . . to take cognizance of and try specified offences of a trivial nature and abetment of such offences committed within the local limits of their respective jurisdiction. Such offences are affray . . ., voluntarily causing hurt . . ., assault or using criminal force . . ., theft . . ., and mischief . . ., insult . . ., some nuisances . . ., and generally any other offence under the Indian Penal Code or any special or local law which is punishable with fine only or with imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or with both.' Madras, 1958, 50.

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17. It is supposedly the headman's duty to decide whether a case should be taken before a magistrate.

18. This case remained unsettled in 1975 (all names used are fictitious).

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19. 'Satchit', 1940, 15; Dharmalingam, 1962; see Diagram 9. Just before his death H. B. Ari Gowder corrected what I have here written about his life.